LABOR AGE

Volume 11
1922

Greenwood Reprint Corporation
New York
1968

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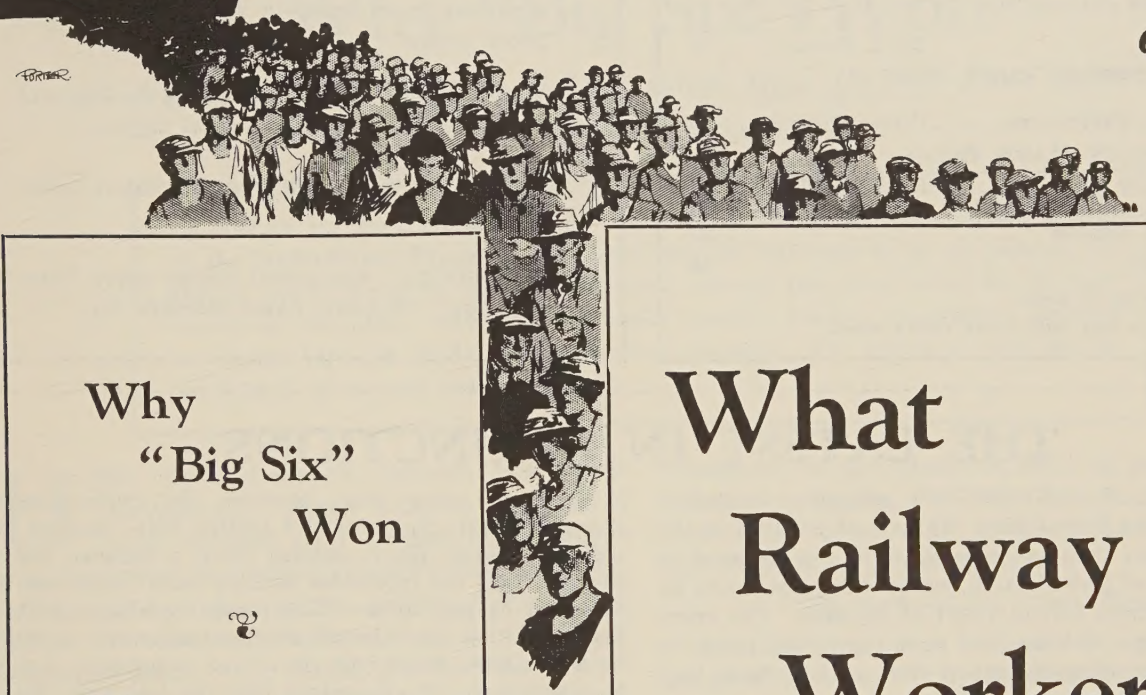
Printed in the United States of America

JANUARY, 1922

Labor Age

20¢ a Copy



Why "Big Six" Won

The Packers Break the Peace

Wm. Z. Foster *vs.* "An I.W.W."

What Railway Workers Face

W. Jett Lauck
O. S. Beyer, Jr.

Volume XI, No. 1 January, 1922

20c per copy

Labor Age

A Monthly Magazine

$2.00 per year

Published by Labor Publication Society, 41 Union Square, New York

CONTENTS:

	Page
WHY "BIG SIX" WON.....*George Soule*	1
THE RAILWAY WAGE ISSUE COMES UP AGAIN *Otto S. Beyer, Jr.*	4
WHAT THE RAILWAY WORKERS FACE *W. Jett Lauck*....	7
THE PACKERS BREAK THE PEACE *David T. Saposs*..	9
KENESAW MOUNTAIN LANDIS DECIDES *Robert M. Buck*..	12
SHOULD THE RADICAL STAY IN THE A. F. OF L.? *An I. W. W*.....	14
W. Z. Foster.....	15
BUILDING HOUSES WITHOUT PROFIT *G. D. H. Cole*...	17
LABOR AND PSYCHOLOGY.....*Prince Hopkins* ..	20
LABOR OPINION (LABOR PRESS)	
THE YEAR OF 1921 .....*H. W. Laidler* ...	
AMERICAN LABOR	23
LABOR ABROAD	26
BOOK NOTES	28

Silhouettes by Gropper.

All line cuts and half tones union made.

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THE LATEST IN INJUNCTIONS

JUDGE A. B. ANDERSON'S sweeping injunction against the United Mine Workers of America in the Borderland Corporation case, which was reviewed in the last issue of LABOR AGE, was modified last month by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The court held that Judge Anderson had gone beyond his power in the case in enjoining the miners from sending funds into West Virginia to aid the employees of *all* the coal corporations there, and that he should have confined the injunction to the employees of the Borderland Company only. Also, the injunction should have been limited to such specific acts of violence on the part of the United Mine Workers as were alleged. The sweeping veto on organizing activities of all sorts was set aside. This, in effect, represents a decided victory for the Union.

About the same time, however, the United States Supreme Court, through Chief Justice Taft—playing his old role against labor—handed down a decision which declared that the injunction against labor could not be abolished by legislation. This means nothing less than that the action taken by the British Parliament in 1906, by which labor there was rid of the injunction, cannot be taken here. It also means that the legislative drive of the American Federation of Labor against the injunction will probably meet with the ban of the courts.

The situation resulting is serious. It seems to present no alternatives for labor. At this time the injunction study which LABOR AGE and certain trade unions have made possible, should be helpful in offering ways to make the injunction ineffective. It looks now as though Justice Taft has given us another Dred Scott decision.

(The Photo-Engravers' strike has interfered with the present issue, but the February number will be out on time.)

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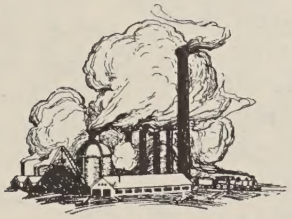

Why "Big Six" Won

How Technical Research Helped Union Hold Its War-Time Wages

By GEORGE SOULE

One of the most vicious assaults made by the "open shop" movement is that on the International Typographical Union and the other unions in the printing industry. In St. Louis, for example, the union printers have been locked out by their employers since May. This is of particular concern, because the printing industry has always been one of the most thoroughly organized. The victory of "Big Six" in this fight is of no small consequence.

HOW does research benefit the labor movement? Many a union member of both radical and conservative wings would answer that while research may be interesting and a good long-time policy, the accumulation of statistics, after all, is of no direct benefit to labor. He would say that labor wins advantages only through the power of its organization and leadership and the shrewdness of its leaders. Such an answer would be right in pointing out that good organization and leadership are the first essential. But it would be wrong if it did not also admit that the possession of a wide array of facts is of immense advantage to the strongest union and the keenest official.

The labor movement is in many respects comparable to an army. No modern general would think of going into a campaign without the most complete and careful information which he can acquire. A good army must have numbers, weapons, spirit, discipline and leadership. But it must also have an able general staff constantly engaged in inquiry as to the latest methods and implements of warfare, the nature of the ground to be fought over, the equipment and plans of the enemy. This is even more necessary in the complex field of modern economic struggles, where superior technical knowledge often may decide a battle, than in the contests of physical force.

"Big Six" and the "Open Shop"

An important case in point is that of Typographical Union No. 6, the New York City local of the International Typographical Union. This local has come through the period of "deflation" and wholesale wage reductions without losing a cent from the highest scale it achieved in the war period. It did so not through any special favorable circumstances, or any iron-bound contract. It had to submit to arbitration, and maintained its scale by an arbitrator's decision. Now, "Big Six" is one of the oldest and strongest unions in the country, and its leadership is unusually capable. This strength and this leadership preserved it from the danger of assaults of any "open-shop" campaign, and enabled it to come through with collective bargaining, the closed shop and voluntary arbitration intact. Its officials had been through many arbitration proceedings, and are extremely able debaters. Yet, when the crucial moment arrived, in November, 1921, and the employers petitioned an arbitrator for an 18

per cent wage reduction, these officials did not rely merely upon their organized strength or upon their own superior ability in argument. They also retained economists and technicians to assist in collecting data and in presenting their case. Every bit of statistical information having to do with the cost of living or the financial condition of the country and the industry, every economic argument on the proper basis of wage determination, was marshalled and given its place in their contentions. Their briefs covered several hundred typewritten pages, and their exhibits were voluminous. The result was that in spite of the almost irresistible wave of wage reductions, and in spite of all the evidence which the employers assembled through their costly statistical department, the arbitrator, Dr. John L. Elliott, refused to grant a reduction.

The Two Pressmen's Unions

This result is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that at the same time seven of the other crafts in the same industry accepted reductions of $2.50 a week without arbitration. It is true that many of these adjustments occurred under an unfavorable contract to which the Typographical Union was not subject. But here arises an additional proof of the concrete value of research, in dollars and cents. Two pressroom unions having an identical unfavorable contract did insist upon arbitration. One of these, Pressmen No. 51, went before its arbitrator without technical assistance and received a cut of $2.00. The other, Press Assistants and Feeders No. 23, engaged economists and technicians, and received a cut of only $1.00. *The same contract, the same industrial conditions, and the same circumstances governed both arbitrations.* What the members of No. 23 thus saved in one week's wages was sufficient to pay the entire cost of the expert assistance engaged.

But research is much farther reaching than immediate issues of this sort, and promises to lead to successful new policies whose ultimate beneficial effects may be felt for years to come. A case of this sort was that of Joint Council No. 6 of the United Shoe Workers of America, in Rochester, New York. Last August the manufacturers, under an arbitration agreement, asked for a wage reduction of twenty-five per cent. The employers engaged a lawyer to prepare their case. The union engaged an economist and a mechanical engineer to work up their side of the case.

Shoe Workers' Victory

The employers presented the usual arguments. The Union also presented the arguments along ordinary lines—though much more fully substantiated than usual. It talked of cost of living, profits of manufacturers, comparative wages in other cities, in other industries, and so on. But the nub of the argument was new. The union contended that a mere change in the wage scale would not do anyone any good for very long. On the other hand, wages could be maintained, or even raised, and prices to the consumer could be reduced, if the waste in the industry were eliminated. On this point they quoted the arbitrator's own report. The union, therefore, made the proposal that instead of reducing wages, the employers should expend their energy in reducing manufacturing costs through the elimination of waste. They also made the request—unusual for a labor organization—that the wage rates should be adjusted on a scientific engineering basis, and that these standards should be determined and developed, and production methods should be improved, by a technical administration under the joint direction of the employers and the union.

This attack took the manufacturers totally by surprise. Their attorney even tried to persuade the union representatives that the union did not want what it said it wanted. But the case of the employers collapsed in the face of the technical facts presented. The arbitrator bowed to the prevailing demand for wage cuts sufficiently to reduce the scale ten per cent. But this was less than the fall in the cost of living, and still left the purchasing power of wages considerably above the 1914 level. On the other hand, the arbitrator recommended that the joint engineering study be made, and supported the union in its main position. This was a remarkable victory in principle, for three reasons:

1. It utilized the power of labor organization in behalf of scientific reorganization of industry rather than merely to resist a wage reduction.

2. It formed a practical alliance, in the field of operations, between labor and the technician.

3. It brought labor before the public as an advocate of higher efficiency and lower prices, with the employers in the opposition.

Similar tactics are of great use in negotiations, even when no arbitration has been de-

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RAILWAY LABOR BOARD'S OCTOBER HEARING

Technicians from Both Sides in Battle at Chicago

cided upon. This was shown in Lynn, Mass. The shoe manufacturers there suddenly demanded a wage reduction of 20 per cent, before the expiration of their contract. They said that on account of wage decreases in St. Louis and elsewhere they were unable to meet competition, and unless immediate relief were granted they would have to move to some other city. This created a turmoil in the unions, and struck terror into the hearts of the local merchants and newspapers. Everyone was excited, and a breach might have resulted, with an open-shop campaign in its trail.

But the unions called in the same statistician who had handled the Rochester case. His first word on coming into the town was a new note and a calming one. "Perhaps the manufacturers are right," he said in effect. "But I am a statistician. I am used to judging things, not on the basis of hurried statements, but on the basis of facts. Let us see if the manufacturers are right. Let us get the facts. The union will give the employers every chance to present the facts. The facts ought to convince everybody." At once public opinion began to swing to the unions. A wage conference resulted.

At the conference the manufacturers said they could not meet the competition of wages elsewhere. The union's statistician asked them to present comparative wage schedules of the competing cities. They could not do it. They argued, however, that the situation was so acute there was not time to make an investigation. The union then asked a hypothetical question, to this effect: "If we should allow a temporary reduction for the next two months, would you permit us during these two months to go into your books and plants and see whether a permanent reduction is justified?" To this question, after deliberation, the manufacturers ananswered, no. The moral case of the union was now complete, and no open-shop campaign was possible. The union, also, was not stampeded into a wage reduction.

If labor's cause is a just one, and we know it is, the justice of that cause can always be demonstrated on the basis of facts. Labor can never lose by insisting that all the cards be laid on the table, and that all the facts be brought to light. In fact, labor can almost always gain by this strategy. The chance to appeal to science and to reason is the chief of the achievements which labor wins by strong and intelligent organization.

The Railway Wage Issue Comes Up Again

By OTTO S. BEYER Jr.

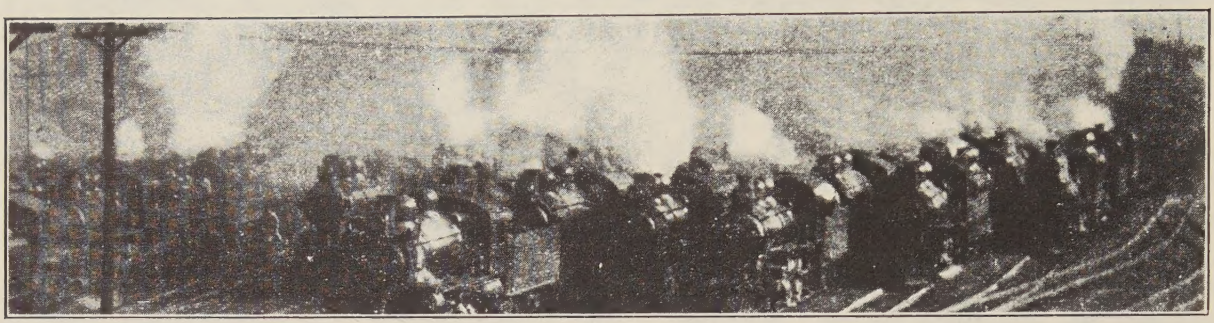

Photo by Van der Weyde. *Made by I. P. E. U., 624*

WORKERS outside the railway industry may well be puzzled by the present railway labor situation. The October decision not to strike was supposed to end trouble, at least for some time. The Labor Board intimated that the wage issues would not be raised before it again until the rules and working conditions had all been settled. But the railway officials almost immediately began graciously to suggest further wage reductions, as a way to meet the demand for lower rates.

Simple Arithmetic

What is the solution to this puzzle? It is not such a difficult one. It is all a matter of simple arithmetic, the reverse of the process of the summer of 1920, when rates went up 40 per cent, while wages rose 22 per cent. The railroad managements are now posting wage revision notices in their various yards and stations; which means that in another month or so they will again appear before the Railroad Labor Board asking for a 10 per cent wage cut. Their big argument will be that railroad rates have been reduced. Hence, wages must come down so that the roads may earn the 5½ to 6 per cent on the 19 billions of "active" railway value allowed them by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Nothing will be said by them about the existing possibilities for improving the efficiencies of management.

This is but another of the many crises—marked by outlaw strikes, threats to strike, conferences and hearings—which have occurred in the railway industry since the President announced to Congress that the roads would go back to their private owners. On that day in 1919 the workers were wedged out of their position of constructive co-operation with management into one of defense against the increased attacks of the controlling financial interests, who had been temporarily dispossessed.

"The National Agreements"

To the Federal Railroad Administration we are indebted, among other things, for the establishment of the Railway Wage Commission (the "Lane" Commission), whose task it was to make an investigation of railway wages and submit recommendations for necessary changes. The administration also established wage and grievance adjustment machinery, and finally ordered that no discrimination was to be made between union and non-union men. Inequalities and differences in rules and working conditions on the various roads of the country were also straightened out. Finally, the shop crafts were successful in reaching an agreement with the administration concerning all rules and working conditions affecting the shop employees. This set of rules has since become known as the National Agreements.

Despite the charges that the railroad administration was unduly favorable to labor, the "Lane" Commission awards were the only substantial gains in wages granted the railway employees during federal control. And these gains were simple and belated adjustments in order to bring the income of the railroad workers in line with the cost of living and with the wages paid in outside industries. In the early

months of 1919, after the word had been passed that the railroads were to be relieved of federal control, the workers through their several organizations presented demands for necessary wage increases. Conflicting views were beginning to arise in the railroad administration because of the government's determination to reestablish private control. Its faculty for decisive constructive action disappeared. The railroad workers, appealing for relief from the ever-mounting living cost, were first promised justice and consideration by the President of the United States upon special appeal to him, but were finally referred back to the railroad administration.

The Paralysis of Private Control

Here, in the fall of 1919, they were told that, since the roads would soon be returned to private ownership the retiring federal administration could not take the responsibility of granting further wage increases. The federal administration, however, agreed through the President to arrange a conference of workers and private managers just as soon as the roads were back under private control. This conference was held in March, 1920. It failed to accomplish a solitary thing by way of much-needed relief, because of the utter unwillingness of the private owners to grant any justice to the workers. Then the sporadic transportation department strikes broke out. These lasted until the Railroad Labor Board, created under the Transportation Act of 1920—the law returning the roads to private management—was established and got into action.

This Railroad Labor Board, according to the law, is composed of nine members, three each selected to represent railroad management, railroad labor and the public. The Board has final jurisdiction in all disputes affecting the relation between workers and managements. In determining just and reasonable wages and working conditions the Board, in so far as applicable, is required to take into consideration among other relevant circumstances the following:

(1) The scale of wages paid for similar kinds of work in other industries;

(2) The relation between wages and the cost of living;

(3) The hazards of employment;

(4) The training and skill required;

(5) The degree of responsibility;

(6) The character and regularity of employment;

(7) The qualities of increases in wages or of treatment, the result of previous wage orders or adjustments.

The provision, however, is incorporated in the Transportation Act making failure to carry out or comply with the rulings of the Board a punishable offense. The intent of the act seems to be that public condemnation so severe will be visited upon any individual, group, or corporation failing to comply with the decision of the Board that such offender will be quick to comply with the decision.

In the face of its repeated demands for a proper readjustment of wages and the passage of legislation that would give it responsibilities on a par with capital, railroad labor was relegated to a position where it not only had to abide its time for the consideration of long-overdue wage increases, but also might have the power of injunction used against it. It is this latent menace which has perhaps more to do with labor's dissatisfaction than anything else. If the Board's decisions are against railroad labor, the latter has no other means to prevent compliance than to refuse to co-operate with railway management. But railroad management can, and did, refuse—in the case of the Pennsylvania, the Atlanta, Birmingham and Atlantic and other roads—to carry out orders against their interests and resorted to the courts on the basis of legal technicalities!

When Roads Wished High Wages

On July 20, 1920, and after protracted hearings, the Railroad Labor Board finally rendered a preliminary award, and granted the railroad workers their long-sought and much-needed wage increases, averaging in all 22 per cent. At that time the railroads, being mainly interested in securing an increase in rates from the Interstate Commerce Commisison, freely conceded and urged the desirability of granting higher wages to the railroad workers.

The Interstate Commerce Commission granted substantial passenger and freight rate increases, effective in September, 11.5 per cent of which was specially provided to cover increases in wages as granted by the Railroad Labor Board. Less than 30 days after this rate increase became effective a number of roads reappeared before the Labor Board asking for a recall of a substantial portion of the wage advances granted in July. By April, 1921, practically every road in the country was agitating for wage reductions. Not thinking this sufficient, however, they also insisted upon the

abrogation of the National Agreement rules, and a reversion to the labor conditions of 1917, before the war.

In April of this year the Labor Board ruled that the National Agreements should be renegotiated by each railroad with its employees, on the basis of sixteen principles. Failing to agree upon specific rules the issue was again to come before the Board for final settlement. The net effect of this procedure has been that where final decisions have been rendered by the Labor Board (as in the case of the overtime and piece work issue) the workers have lost ground. Furthermore, in some instances, as in the case of the Pennsylvania, the railroads have refused to comply with the basic rulings of the Board and to negotiate with the employees through their properly selected union representatives. On top of this, the workers, since July first of last year, have been obliged to submit to an average wage reduction of 12.5 per cent.

Farming Out Shop Work

The situation was further aggravated by such railroads as the Erie, the New York Central, the Pennsylvania and others, through the farming out of their repair work or disposing of their car and locomotive repair facilities to dummy private corporations which are not subject to the provisions of the Transportation Act. The workers in these shops could thus be "controlled" and their wages adjusted by the workings of the "immutable laws of supply and demand."

There are still other, but more general, sources of aggravation which are causing railroad labor to feel more and more that the cards are stacked against it. In the entire matter of public education it feels itself at a tremendous disadvantage because of the lavish propaganda with which the railroad executives are misleading the press and the "public." Railroad labor is convinced that this campaign is having its effect on the various government officers and agencies having jurisdiction over railway matters. Hence, it greatly fears that the "public" members of, for instance, the Railroad Labor Board are apt to become prejudiced against Labor.

Financial Jugglery

The railroad workers are also very clearly conscious of the financial manipulations and manoeuverings which have precipitated the railroads of the country into their present straits. They have seen the control of the railroads pass out of the hands of practical railroad men like Cable, Hill and others into the hands of financiers, bankers, speculators, exporters like Reed, Harriman, or Morgan, whose agents are men like Mullen, Krutschmitt, Atterbury, Loree, Underwood. They see more clearly each day how this type of railroad control cannot cope with the real problem of making our railroads more efficient. They have witnessed a morbid decline in the rate of physical plant improvement, in the efficiency and dispatch of conducting transportation, in the efficiency of locomotive and car repairs, and track maintenance. The railroad workers know only too well that it has been their insistence upon the passage of locomotive inspection laws, safety appliance acts, workers' compensation acts, etc. (in the face of the concerted opposition of railroad management), which has improved the security of railroad operation to workers and travelers alike.

Workers Must Control

Present-day railway management finds itself in such a position that its only "salvation" lies in the direction of wage reductions. What it is incapable of accomplishing by improved methods of management, the greater and greater application of science to the art of railroad operation, it insists upon making up out of the necessary earnings of the workers.

In one thing only is present-day railway control successful—and that is in getting the press to sing its praises, and demand that readjustments in the industry come from out of the pockets of the employees.

In the face of this situation, and despite the October crisis, it appears that the labor provisions of the transportation act, inadequate and dangerous as they are, have thus far been of some help to the organized railroad workers. In the main, the Railroad Labor Board has served as a stabilizing and restraining influence, particularly as applied to railroad management.

Labor troubles, varied and serious, nevertheless, are still bound to plague the industry. A real hope for betterment may only be entertained when the consolidation of our railroads into regional systems is seriously considered, and the organized railroad workers are given collective responsibility in management and control.

What the Railway Workers Face

By W. JETT LAUCK

FROM the standpoint of the employees the railroad problem is approaching another acute stage. A year ago the "open shop" group among the railroad executives attempted to disrupt or weaken the labor organizations of the railroad workers under cover of a united drive against the so-called National Agreements of the shopmen and other crafts. For a few months it looked as if they would be successful through pressure upon the Railroad Labor Board, and through the force of misguided public opinion. The employees, however, finally won out by securing a decision making sixteen fundamental principles mandatory upon the negotiation of agreements as to working conditions between individual carriers and their employers.

Mutual agreement as to the practical application of these principles to working conditions was obviously impossible. As a consequence, the interpretation and application of the principles were referred to the Labor Board. In some respects the Board has impaired pre-existing standards, as in the case of the 10-hour basic day for maintenance of way employees, and in the refusal to grant punitive overtime for regular or assigned Sunday work. But in the main the result has been a tremendous victory for the shopmen and other classes of employees who constitute the federated railway department of the American Federation of Labor.

National Agreements Decision

As a matter of fact, the value of the so-called National Agreements decision to railway employees in particular and to the labor movement in general, can scarcely be overestimated. A great many representative labor leaders do not as yet seem to have grasped its full meaning.

Fundamentally, it is the first industrial code, or series of principles mandatory upon industrial relations, which has ever been given a judicial sanction in this or any other country. The only analogous precedent were the principles of the National War Labor Board during the period of the war. These were not so comprehensive or so favorable to the cause of labor as the sixteen cardinal principles laid down by the Railroad Labor Board in its National Agreements decision.

A knockout blow was given to the "open shop movement," so far as the transportation system was concerned. It was definitely decided that collective bargaining on the railroads should proceed upon the basis of complete trade union recognition. The principle of the eight-hour work day with punitive overtime was established. A comprehensive and satisfactory classification of crafts or employees was worked out. Practically all the war-time gains of railroad employees as to working relations were thus perpetuated. The weakening of the older unions and the disruption of the more recent organizations which had developed during the war, was also prevented.

The Wage Decision

The wage decision of the Labor Board, which followed shortly after the National Agreements case, was also in a relative sense a great victory for the employees. It reduced wage rates in general only 12 per cent when the railroads had anticipated or expected a decrease of at least twice that amount. From the standpoint of adequateness, especially in the case of the lower paid and unskilled workers, rates of pay should not have been reduced at all, and, if reduced, the burden should have been lighter on the unskilled worker. But from the point of view of what the decision might have been, or from what the railroad executives hoped it would be, the gain to the employees was very great.

The feature of the case which was especially encouraging was the refusal of the Railroad Labor Board to accept or be stampeded by the commodity theory of wages, or the law of supply and demand as applied to the determination of wage rates. Although the representatives of the railroads who presented the railroad case to the Labor Board, when directly accused of advocating the commodity theory of wage-fixing, sharply resented the charge, as a matter of fact their main contention was that the rates of pay of railway employees should be reduced because there had been a decline in the rates paid in other industries. Voluminous data was submitted to show how comparatively low

wages were in other industries. During the actual hearing of the case Judge Gary also, with the evident purpose of assisting the railroads, made a sweeping reduction in the rates of pay of the employees of the Steel Corporation.

Judge Gary Steps Into the Picture

Even under these conditions, however, the Railroad Labor Board, although it might have found ample grounds in the acts of industrial autocrats like Judge Gary, or in the widespread wage reductions growing out of the industrial depression for drastic wage reductions, evidently recognized that it should put aside the commodity theory of labor, and base its decision upon human standards sanctioned by enlightened public opinion. It might have gone further and recognized the principle of a living wage and denied any reduction. As it was, however, its attitude was courageous and enlightened, and as much as could have been expected under conditions which then prevailed.

The condemnation which has been visited upon the board since its decision, not only by railroad executives, but by shippers, manufacturers, and agricultural interests, which have been misled by railroad propaganda, is sufficient evidence of its enlightened attitude, comparatively speaking, and of the resultant good fortune of railroad workers.

The Existing Danger

The existing danger to railroad workers consists in the possibility of a further reduction in wages. The success of the labor organizations in the wage case of last spring has caused the railroads to redouble their efforts. Their propaganda has increased in volume. The railroad executives themselves have been forced to confront an almost irresistible demand for the reduction of passenger and freight rates. Their effort has been to make it appear that the labor costs of operation are excessive, and that further reductions in passenger and freight charges must be conditioned upon further cuts in wages.

Such has been their argument before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the Senate. A similar plea is now being made to the Interstate Commerce Commission. An immeasurable volume of propaganda along the same lines has been distributed to the farmer, the shipper, and to the general public. The Railroad Labor Board has been openly attacked. Its abolition or its union with the Interstate Commerce Commission has been advocated. The menace in all this to railroad employees lies in the possibility of the development of such a powerful pressure upon the Labor Board that, when it comes to its next wage decision, it may be actually destroyed, or forced, unconsciously though it may be, to sacrifice the human standards of compensation which it has so courageously maintained.

The Hope of the Railway Worker

The only hope of the railway worker against a further wage reduction consists in having the truth as to railroad wages and the labor costs of operation of the transportation industry become known to the public. In other words, the railroad labor organizations must gird their loins afresh, renew their tactics of a year ago, and puncture effectually the propaganda and misrepresentations of the railroad executives. Obviously, to be successful they must make an effective presentation of their case to the Interstate Commerce Commission and to the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. If they do this the railroads cannot meet them successfully.

It will be discovered and recognized that excessive operating costs and high freight and passenger rates are not due to unreasonable wages paid to railroad employees. Other measures than the reduction in rates of pay will be adopted as the means of reducing operating expenses and freight and passenger charges. The appeal to the Labor Board by the railway executives for a further reduction in wages will thus fail to meet with a favorable response.

The railway worker has a clear case. His efficiency has increased. Labor costs would have been lower had it not been for the delinquencies of railroad financial management. The object of those financial groups who control the railroads has been financially to rehabilitate their properties at the expense of the public and of railroad employees. The public will be deceived and railroad wages further deflated, if the organizations of employees do not take up the fight aggressively, disprove the misrepresentations of the railroad propaganda, and protect the Railroad Labor Board from the pressure which is being developed against it and the attacks which are being made upon it. The present hope of the employees is in the Railroad Labor Board and the maintenance of its functions unimpaired.

The Packers Break the Peace

Employers Introduce "Industrial Democracy" and a Generous Wage of $18 Per Week

By DAVID T. SAPOSS

THE immediate purpose of the packing house workers' strike is to resist an arbitrary wage cut. Fundamentally, however, the strike is a protest against autocracy in the packing industry. This industry has always been notoriously anti-union. At intervals from 1886 attempts were made at organization and union recognition. Their success was short-lived. The landmarks of this struggle for industrial democracy are 1886-1887, 1894, 1897 and 1904.

With some slight exceptions, the industry remained unorganized from 1904 until the fall of 1918. Under the leadership of John Fitzpatrick and Wm. Z. Foster, the twelve international unions having jurisdiction over workers in this industry carried through a successful organizing campaign. This was one of several moves toward organization of the poorly organized basic industries, notably the shipping and railroad industries, and later the steel industry. The packers ignored the workers' overtures for recognition. An appeal was consequently made to Washington, and Secretary of War Baker and Secretary of Labor Wilson prevailed upon the employers to submit all contentions to an umpire. Federal Judge Samuel Alschuler was selected, both sides agreeing to recognize his jurisdiction until a year after the signing of peace.

The Workers Get a Hearing

This is the longest period in the history of the industry during which the packers could not autocratically impose their will upon the workers. The change resulted in immediate and continuous betterment of working conditions. In spite of the high cost of living in 1918, the unskilled workers, comprising from 60 to 65 per cent of the labor force, were paid only 27½ cents an hour. For the year 1917 the total average earnings of an unskilled worker were but $720. The skilled trades were also underpaid. Periodically, Judge Alschuler increased the wages, so that by the end of 1920 common labor was getting 53c an hour. The other workers were raised proportionately. The eight-hour day and 48-hour week replaced the ten-hour day and the 60-hour week. Other unfair working conditions were either set aside or modified.

The packers, so long used to autocracy, chafed under this new system. At any rate, last March they simultaneously announced that they would no longer submit to the authority of Judge Alschuler, although the agreement under which he was acting did not expire until September. On protest of the unions and after conference with the Secretary of Labor, an agreement was reached that the men would accept an eight-cent hourly reduction, the packers to promise not to scrap the arbitration machinery.

Packers Not Satisfied

Not satisfied with this wage reduction, the packers petitioned Judge Alschuler in June for an additional 5c hourly wage reduction. They were represented by a corps of able corporation lawyers, economists and statisticians. The workers were represented by Cornelius J. Hayes, President, and Dennis Lane, Secretary of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, with the technical assistance of The Labor Bureau, Inc. In its brief the union showed that wages of common labor were only 12½ per cent higher than they were in January, 1918, when Judge Alschuler set the first fair wage. The cost of living was 27 per cent higher than it was in January, 1918! Furthermore, the total annual earnings of a common laborer with a 45c hourly wage, based on a 48-hour week and a year of 52 weeks, amounts to $1,123.20. The employees' representatives priced the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Minimum Health and Decency Budget (for a family of five) and found that it requires $2,557.86 to purchase the commodities and services therein enumerated.

The brief of the unions also refuted the contention of the packers that the wages of their workers were higher than those of similar classes of workers in other industries. The packers gathered their comparative wage statistics from unorganized industries, which the union argued was unfair, since during scarcity of labor unorganized workers are not restrained either by trade union agreement or arbitration machinery from taking advantage of every turn

in the labor market. On the other hand, in a period of depression, they are helpless and must submit to wage reductions, however drastic. In organized industries the wages of both skilled and unskilled workers were higher than the wages of packing house employees. Thus the hourly wage of railroad shop workers exceeded from 2 to 19 cents the hourly rate for similar workers in the packing industry after the last railroad wage reduction.

"Poverty" of the Packers

But, in tune with all big business, the packers stressed their bad financial condition. Only a cut in wages would stimulate industry, by enabling them to increase the price paid to live stock raisers and reduce the selling cost. The unsoundness of their claim was clearly shown by the fact that a 5-cent reduction in wages means a saving of 71/100 of a cent in relation

Underwood and Underwood *Made by I. P. E. U., 546*

CHICAGO POLICE IN STOCK YARDS DISTRICT
Driving Back Strike Sympathizers in Night Attack

to the selling price. Then the union presented a financial analysis of the condition of the packers. Swift & Company was chosen as a representative case. This firm has had a healthy and prosperous growth, having weathered unfavorable conditions without any permanent financial injuries. Current assets grew gradually from $41,000,000 in 1905 to $319,000,000 in 1920; fixed assets from $16,000,000 in 1905 to $96,000,000 in 1920; surplus from $10,000,000 to $81,500,000; and total invested capital from $45,000,00 to $231,000,000.

"Besides this healthy growth, there is conclusive evidence that the packers have been able financially to weather other adverse general business conditions. The panic of 1907, with its drastic results on general business conditions, left them with a profit of 9.9 per cent of invested capital (capital stock and surplus) in 1907, and 12.6 per cent on capital stock. This rate of profit was almost as much as was obtained in the previous year, while 1908 and 1910 showed earnings on invested capital of 11.4 per cent for each year. They continued their operations, making large returns and laying aside annually large sums for surplus.

"The earnings of the company on capital stock from 1905 to 1915 fell only once below 11 per cent. This occurred in 1911, when the earnings amounted to 8.4 per cent. In 1916, however, the ratio of earnings to capital stock mounted to 27.29 per cent, and in 1917 to an even larger percentage, namely, 34.65 per cent. The ratio in 1920 was only 3.4 per cent, which, in view of general business conditions, might not be considered a poor showing. **It is quite apparent, however, that the earnings from operations for the fiscal year 1920 were in reality much greater than 3.4 per cent on capital stock, because of the fact that the reduction in inventory values was apparently not charged off to surplus, but actually almost entirely to current operations.** The rate of 3.4 per cent for 1920 is, therefore, misleading and questionable, since it represents the results after the heavy decreases in inventory values were charged all to the current year."

"Industrial Democracy" Supplants Arbitration

Judge Alschuler finally denied the petition of the packers. He ruled that previous wage reductions represented "practically 19 per cent reduction from the top of the wages," and that a further reduction was not then justified. This was too much for the packers. The Armour Company announced that it would introduce "industrial democracy" in its plants via the "American" employee representation plan. Not long thereafter Armour announced a meeting of its "employee representatives" in Chicago. At these sessions the officers of the firm explained the condition of the company, whereupon the conference voted to accept the following wage reductions: Workers receiving 45c an hour or less to be reduced 7½c; those receiving 45c to 50c to have a 5c reduction; and a 3c reduction for those making over 50c. Similar meetings were called by the other packing firms, and the "representatives" voted a like reduction. Morris, not having an employee representation plan, merely announced a similar wage cut. On the basis of these reductions, over 65 per cent of the packing house workers will be receiving a weekly wage of $18.

The Missing Link

The daily press applauded effusively. It heralded this mode of procedure as the discovery of the missing link in the evolution of industry. At last the workers acknowledge that their interests are wholly and unequivocally identical with the interests of their employers. Photographs were reproduced of the sessions

at which the "workers" voted themselves an outright reduction of wages. It did not occur to any of the editors that nothing demonstrated more conclusively the hypocrisy of the employee representation plan than previous events in the packing industry. When Judge Alschuler denied a wage reduction the cost of living was still on the decline, and business generally stagnant. Now, with the cost of living having run its downward course (cost of living declined from May to September 1.7 per cent), and business indicating a slow, but gradual, improvement, we have the spectacle of workers "voluntarily" and "gleefully" voting themselves a wage reduction!

But the workers and their leaders were not as credulous as the gentlemen of the daily press. Upon learning that the packers had determined to scrap the arbitration machinery which had maintained peace in critical times, the Butcher Workmen called a conference of local representatives in Omaha for August 15. At this gathering the international officials were instructed to ask for a renewal of the arbitration agreement. The packers failed to respond to the proposal. A strike vote resulted in a 90 per cent favorable return. The Butcher Workmen then called a meeting of the international officials of other unions having members who are employed in the stock yards and packing plants. It was there decided to call a strike on the day when the wage reductions would be put into effect. This day proved to be Monday, December 5.

The Workers Stand for Arbitration

Here again the daily press relied upon the wrong sources for its information. The first two days' headlines pronounced the strike a failure. But when the workers resorted to mass demonstrations, the newspapers were forced to recognize the effectiveness of the strike. Even the Kansas Industrial Court—the magic wand of Governor Allen—could not keep the workers from refusing to submit to arbitrary wage reductions and the scrapping of machinery that assured them a voice in the determination of their working conditions. Now, Allen is to emulate Governor Preuss, of Minnesota, in ordering out the state militia to keep the workers from picketing. In Chicago the police reserves are on duty in Packingtown. In the meantime, the 50,000 skilled and unskilled striking workers are holding out. They stand ready to return to work as soon as the packers decide to recognize the Alschuler arbitration machinery, or any other fair arbitration method.

Times World-Wide Photos *Made by I. P. E. U., 546*

KANSAS WOMEN ON MARCH, 6,000 STRONG

In recent labor crises women have played an active part. This has marked both the packing strike and this march of the Kansas miners' wives and daughters against the anti-Howat miners

Kenesaw Mountain Landis Decides—

And Chicago "Citizens" Plan $3,000,000 Fund to Establish "Open Shop"

By ROBERT M. BUCK

THE "open shop" effort to destroy the labor unions, so far as Chicago is concerned, centers for the present in the building trades, although a kindred struggle in the local printing industry should not be lost sight of, nor what employers have done in the metal trades. Early in the development of the present situation in the building industry came the Dailey commission. This was an investigating committee, composed of members of the Legislature, headed by State Senator John Dailey, a lawyer of Peoria, Ill., for many years recognized as the spokesman of distillery interests in the Illinois General Assembly.

An "Impartial" Commission

The Dailey Commission made the usual one-sided investigation, resulting in denunciation of labor union leaders, with lesser criticisms for contractors, and still milder comment on mortgage bankers. Indictments resulted against labor men. The same degree of merit no doubt does not attach to each of these indictments, but some of them, at least, are on debatable technical ground. For instance, the officials of the carpenters are indicted for alleged violations of the Sherman anti-trust law because of a clause in their contract that they will not install non-union made trim nor any but union trim made in Chicago. This clause in their contract is a necessary defensive tactic to protect their wage scale.

Throughout the period of the Dailey Commission hearings, efforts were in progress by the employers to reduce wages from $1.25 to $1 an hour for skilled workers, and from $1 to 75 cents an hour for laborers.

With these indictments pending, pressure was put on the unions to accept Federal Judge Landis as arbitrator of this wage dispute. It was in this fashion that the so-called agreement to arbitrate was forced on the unions and Judge Landis was named. Certain trades, among them the carpenters, stood out and refused to become parties to the proceeding.

The memorandum of agreement to Judge Landis' arbitration was definite. It stated that he was to arbitrate wages. Judge Landis accepted the agreement—and proceeded to violate the arrangement. He refused to arbitrate the wage scales until first he had overhauled the existing agreements between the unions and the contractors.

Zeal of the Worthy Judge

The zeal of the judge was appalling. He tore two-score union agreements to pieces and conducted a veritable inquisition in an effort to force contractors and men to agree to wipe out some of the clauses of these contracts and modify others.

Finally, he produced what he called a uniform agreement. The contractors were organized in two associations, the Building Construction Employers' Association and the Associated Builders. He insisted that all the contractors affiliated with these two associations and all the unions affiliated with the Chicago Building Trades Council ratify this general "agreement" and make all their future agreements in consonance therewith. When examined, it was found to be built on certain "cardinal points" or doctrines, eight in number. These points were not new. They were formulated many years ago in another "open" shop drive, at a time when an attempt was made to destroy the building trade unions in Chicago. They were as follows:

The "Open Shop" Principles

I.—That there shall be no limitations to the amount of work a man shall perform during his working day.

II.—That there shall be no restriction of use of machinery, tools or appliances.

III.—That there shall be no restriction of the use of any raw or manufactured material, except prison made.

IV.—That no person shall have the right to interfere with workmen during working hours.

V.—That the use of apprentices shall not be prohibited.

VI.—That the foreman shall be the agent of the employer.

VII.—That workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit but that they shall demand and receive the wages agreed upon by the Joint Arbitration Board in this trade under all circumstances.

VIII.—The employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit.

After this "open" shop document had been accepted by the central organizations involved, Judge Landis announced his wage award. Here he violated a fundamental trade union principle. Every union wage agreement provides a minimum wage rate and the employer is at liberty to pay as much more than those rates to workers with more skill, as he wishes. The rates announced by Judge Landis were maximum rates—rigid rates—and any employer paying more to his workers was to be not only held up to scorn, but put out of business if possible.

The Judge's Generosity to the Employers

Then, an arbitrator usually decides a wage scale at some point between the extreme demands of the two parties to the dispute. The low extreme in this case was $1 an hour for skilled mechanics. Many of the rates fixed by Judge Landis were lower than $1 an hour—that is, lower even than the employers had wished them.

There was immediate rebellion among the unions. Several of them refused to abide by the award. Those who did this openly were the seven or eight crafts that had not accepted Judge Landis as an arbitrator. But workers in certain of the other unions refused to accept the reduced wages, and the contractors employing them, in the main, continued to pay the pre-Landis wage scale.

Thus Judge Landis found himself helpless. Unlike other arbitrators, he undertook to enforce his award. This he found himself unable to accomplish, for lack of power. The parties whose dispute he had umpired were proceeding with mutual satisfaction to do business just as they had before he umpired the dispute. So he tried to apply his compulsion not only to the unions, but to the contractors also.

When he found that he was helpless he stepped aside and graciously withdrew his threats and pronunciamentos from the front pages of the newspapers. He postponed arguments on an application for a rehearing, which application was made by the unions, while the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, the two real estate boards of Chicago and one or two other organizations, organized a "Citizens' Committee to Enforce the Landis Award."

"Citizens' Committee" to the Rescue

This committee appointed an executive committee, numbering on its membership some of the most bitter anti-union employers of the city. They incorporated the association and demanded that the bankers refuse loans to persons wishing to put up buildings, except upon contracts stipulating that the Landis wages should be paid.

This appeared to be mainly a threatening gesture, so the next thing the committee did was to announce that it would institute a campaign to raise $3,000,000 to import scab carpenters and other mechanics to take the place of those who would not abide by the Landis award. They said they were not trying to enforce the "open" shop, but they stated that they would maintain no relations with any union that did not work for the Landis wages, and that they would hire no member of such a union. They started off with the carpenters, who had taken a positive and unequivocal stand on that point. The "Citizens'" Committee said it was through with the Carpenters' union.

Their attempt to import scab carpenters was farcical. The only effect it had was to stiffen the determination of the carpenters, who now started to visit local unions of other trades, with requests that such locals go on record as refusing to work with non-union carpenters or any other non-union men. A resolution to that effect is pending before the Building Trades Council.

Injunction Against the "Citizens"

The carpenters then started fighting the "Citizens'" Committee on a new tack. They started injunction proceedings (to be argued some time in January) to enjoin the committee from placing a boycott against their union or its members.

The very latest development is the institution of a series of mass meetings to fight the "open" shop, by a group of active trade unionists. These meetings are drawing large audiences, and at this writing it appears as if what threatened to settle down to a winter-long struggle between the unions and their enemies, the "open" shoppers, will turn into a complete rout of the "open" shop, the threats of the employers only having served to strengthen the morale of the union members.

Should the Radical Stay In the A. F. of L.?

Wm. Z. Foster Says "Yes", An I. W. W. Says "No"

NO PLACE FOR A RADICAL

By "An I. W. W."

WM. Z. FOSTER asks the question: What ails American Radicalism?* and then proceeds to diagnose the main ailment as: "The Policy of Dualism in the economic program of the American Labor movement."

This, says Foster, is directly opposite to the policy followed by radicals in "all other important capitalistic countries." Result: here the "reactionaries are in almost complete control." In other countries "the radicals have won the leadership of the masses."

Foster is careful not to state how he distinguishes between a "radical" and a "reactionary." It should be fair to assume that by radicals he means those whose acts are in accord with the workers' class interests. Judged by this standard, there does not seem to be any difference between the "radicals" of other countries and the "reactionaries" of this country—both sets betrayed the workers by supporting the programs of the war lords in the World War.

THE main ailment, says Foster, started about thirty years ago. This would take us back to 1891 or thereabouts. Foster is either ignorant as to the facts on labor organizations in this country, or he takes it for granted that his readers are. From 1867 to 1881, the Knights of Labor was the only organization of general scope in this country. 1881 witnessed the appearance of the A. F. of L. as a rival separatist or dual organization.

If Foster's contention that separatist unionism is the method that renders success improbable, if not impossible, how is it that the A. F. of L. was successful in displacing the Knights of Labor? Or is the policy of dualism erroneous only when operating against the A. F. of L.

Foster's reference to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is an admission that his program is wrong, though he clumsily attempts to make it appear otherwise. In plain English the substance of Foster's logic is, a dual union when successful ceases to be a dual union.

The case of the A. C. W., as stated by Foster, shows that it is not possible to capture an organization that is in control of the reactionaries. His experience with the Chicago Stockyards Council is likewise proof that the radicals cannot retain control of any subordinate part of an organization when the reactionaries control the machinery of the general organization. Yet the only advice he has to offer to the radicals in other organizations, is to travel the same road—support an officialdom that betrays you until such time as this officialdom throws you out. In short, don't profit by the experience of others.

The reference to the lack of numerical strength and influence in industry of the dual unions has no bearing whatever on the point at issue. The comparatively small membership of "dual" radical unions and their lack of control of industry arises from many causes and duality is not one of them. The aims and objects of the radical organizations may have been too advanced to gain adherence of the workers; the opposition of the employing class through its various agencies may be such that the radical organizations cannot contend with them successfully.

THE failure of the Steel strike is a case in point. The "regular" organizations and Mr. Foster had a free hand. How much influence do they exert in the steel industry? What is their numerical strength? It would be as logical to say that this organization campaign failed because the organizations involved were not dual.

Foster's economic program calls for capturing control of the organizations dominated by reactionary elements. An impossibility where the organization in question is a "going concern." The winning of the membership of all labor organizations to radical ideas, however, can and must be accomplished. This can be done by radicals agitating within existing organizations and building up outside an organization that they, the radicals, control, and to which the members of the other organizations can turn for aid and protection, not only from the onslaughts of the employers but the officials of the "regular" unions as well.

Foster claims that dualism violates the principle of solidarity, and is by reason of this fact a failure. He implies that the regular unions observe the principle of solidarity. Here again Mr. Foster is either ignorant or presumes that the Review's readers are. If the penalty for violating the principle of solidarity were failure the A. F. of L. would have long ceased to exist. The reverse is the truth. It is because some dual organizations strive to make solidarity of labor a fact instead of a phrase,

*In "Socialist Review" of April-May, 1920.

that they have met with such brutal opposition from the minions of the employers.

If Mr. Foster is able to read history truthfully, he will see that Labor's radical past began to wane with the accession of the A. F. of L. to a dominating position in the labor movement. As that organization grew, radicalism waned.

FOSTER'S reference to Seattle and what occurred there is rather unfortunate for his case. Seattle happens to be the stronghold of the I. W. W. and it is due to this fact that the A. F. L. in that section is more radical than elsewhere. It has to be, or go out of existence, because of the radical education carried on in that section by the I. W. W.

The great wave of radicalism that Foster speaks of—the eight hour day, general strike and International Labor Day—are all the fruit of the K. of L. influence. As the A. F. L. replaced the K. of L. as the dominant labor organization, the militants, whose activities were responsible for labor's radical program were blacklisted and hounded out of industry by the unholy combination of the bosses and the craft union officials.

THERE is no question, however, but what American radicalism is ailing, and it is high time that the ailment be correctly diagnosed and the remedies applied. The purpose in writing this criticism of Mr. Foster's article is to supply some of the reasons for present day conditions in this country and the remedy. The cause for this condition can be generalized as two-fold.

First, a general indifference on the part of the average worker, organized and unorganized, to radical ideas. Secondly, inability of the radicals to arouse the needed interest in radical ideas among the workers.

Success of an organization or movement, radical or otherwise, depends upon the ability, sincerity and intelligence of those who advocate and are a part of it.

The radical movement needs sincerity among its members in the sense that they strive for a revolutionary ideal because of the ideal itself, and not merely as a means by which it gratified a craving for adventure, the urge of an abnormal ego or to obtain financial or other advantages therefrom. To put it in another way, that they do not use a movement for personal aggrandizement in any form whatsoever.

Intelligence of a degree that they are able to know the why and wherefore of the struggle, that they can not be led away from the main issue by crafty individuals who befog the issue with sophistries, misstatements and garbled facts. Intelligence that will enable them to correctly judge the worth of service rendered and at the same time not exaggerate it to the point of hero-worship. Intelligence in short, that is able to judge all factors in relation to their true values to the radical program.

Ability to do the thing required; to make use of the materials at hand and the circumstances as they arise. Ability to impart your knowledge to others and to learn from others what you lack—in short, the ability to function efficiently in the interest of the organization.

Knowledge how to do things, and the courage to defy wrong policies, whether in or outside the movement.

Ability, sincerity, intelligence and courage; these four necessary qualifications must be combined in a sufficiently large percentage of the membership of the radical movement before any measure of success is possible. This condition does not prevail in the American radical movement and is the main factor in its present helplessness.

The question of dualism has no bearing on the issue.

DUAL UNIONISM A MISCHIEVOUS IDEA

By Wm. Z. Foster

AN I. W. W." attempts to refute my contention that dual unionism is the basic cause of the weakness of the American revolutionary movement. He declares that it is not a factor in the situation, and is strong for the policy of breaking up the whole labor movement and starting it afresh according to blue-printed plans. To support his position he lugs in more confused thinking, half-truths, errors and misunderstandings than I have seen crowded into one article for many a day.

He cannot, for instance, distinguish the difference between the methods used in founding the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and those always employed by the orthodox dual industrial unions. The fact is they represent the two opposite poles of tactics for labor militants. Before the Amalgamated was launched, the live-wires carried on a campaign of minority organization within the United Garment Workers, until they finally succeeded in capturing the majority of its locals. They had no dual union. Their working theory was that the old union could be captured. On the contrary, the habitual method of the dual unions is to sabotage all "regular" labor organizations. With them separatism is almost a matter of religion. Their working theory is always that the old union cannot be captured. The two methods are the reverse of each other; one is a process of working within the old unions and of keeping the militants in the midst of the organized masses, the other a process of breaking the old unions from without and of pulling the militants out of the organized masses. The one tactic leads to success and the other to failure. That the campaign in the United Garment Workers led to a split, in no way changes the issue. The decisive thing was that the militants stayed with the masses at all times and they were able to function. The cardinal mistake of the dual unions is that they isolate the militants and render them powerless.

FROM "An I. W. W.'s" confused references to the packing and steel industries, one gathers that the recent movements there illustrate the futility of working within the old unions. Exactly the reverse is the case; no events better show the wisdom of such a course.

To expect the militants to exert real power in the trade unions, they should have at least a fair degree of organization. But in the cases in point they did not even have a rag of it. What was done was the work of a mere handful of rebels. With no backing whatever from the thousands of militants in the many organizations concerned, they forced the unionization of two industries which had resisted all efforts for many years. Some ultra-radicals attempt now to sneer at these achievements, but we can easily picture to ourselves the boundless boasting we would have to listen to if the great organization campaigns and strikes in the packing and steel industries had been the work of any of the well-known dual unions. We should suddenly discover that both these movements were of epoch-making importance.

Now the point is, if just a few militants, working practically alone, could drive the old unions into such great movements, what would have happened had there been thoroughly organized rebel minorities in all the unions involved? As for me, I am convinced that the sabotage of the old trade union officials in the steel industry could have been broken down and the great strike won. The events in the packing and steel industries demonstrate the power of the militants among the organized masses, not their weakness.

AN I. W. W.'s" remarks about Seattle are comical. For many years the several dual industrial unions have done their level best to pull the rebels out of the trade union movement in that city and to break it up. And now he comes along trying to claim credit for whatever life and vitality it may unavoidably have left. It is as though a man knocked another on the head, tied an anchor on his neck, threw him overboard, dropped a depth-bomb after him, and then, when his victim managed somehow to struggle ashore, more dead than alive, applied for a Congressional medal as the saver of his life.

The argument of "An I. W. W." about the tactics of the rebels in Italy being dualistic is answered authoritatively by the action taken by the Italian Communist labor men at their first conference, held in Milan, September 20th of this year. The principal resolution passed declared: (1) That Communists should stay inside the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.), (2) Communists should work for trade union unity, (3) Communists in the trade union federations affiliated with the Red Trade Union International should work for unity with the C. G. T., (4) Communists should not try to detach unions from the C. G. T., (5) Communists in the railroad federation and other independent unions should work for affiliation of their organizations with the Red Trade Union International and the C. G. T. It may be noted that the C. G. T. is controlled by the moderates. If there is any dual unionism in that program then I am unable to discover it. The stand of the Italian Communists on the question of splitting is almost identical with that of the Syndicalists and Anarchists, the other left-wing elements.

Nor can dual unionism make any better showing in Germany. The outside revolutionary unions count not over 150,000 members at the most, while the Communist minority within the old unions has the support of at least 2,500,000 workers. And the tendency is turning more and more strongly against the dual union program. In England and France dual unionism is so strictly tabooed that to launch a separatist movement would be considered practical treason to the rebel cause. "An I. W. W." will have to get his endorsement for dual unionism from somewhere else than Europe. There the workers have at least learned that they should not split their ranks every time someone comes along with a new idea about unionism.

THE fight with the Knights of Labor did not begin with the launching of the A. F. of L., as is charged, but several years later. At first the two organizations felt no antagonism toward each other. Says Commons, in his "History of Labor in the United States," page 321, referring to 1881, when the A. F. of L. was formed; "Moreover, as yet the trade unions felt no menace to their organizations from the Knights of Labor; in fact they were in perfect harmony with the Knights "And again, page 397, "The conflict was held in abeyance during the early eighties. *The trade unions were by far the strongest organizations in the field,* (emphasis mine, W. Z. F.) and scented no particular danger when here and there the Knights formed an assembly either contiguous to a sphere of a trade union or even encroaching upon it." How the Knights saw the situation may be judged from the following, page 397: "In 1884, this friendly feeling (of the A. F. of L.) was largely reciprocated by the Knights of Labor." In view of these statements, which are based upon the most thorough study ever made of the Knights of Labor, what becomes of the argument that the A. F. of L. was launched to destroy the K. of L.?

THERE is a new wind blowing in the left-wing movement. It is at last becoming tired of chasing Daniel De Leon's rainbow of a blue-printed, dual union movement. The rebels are finally awakening to the fact that for many years they have been playing into the enemy's hands by quitting the old trade unions. They are almost through with that method now, and are rapidly turning their hands to real work. Nor can all of "An I. W. W." 's sophistries, which were all right as argument. The rebels are finally awakening to the fact of the march of progress. Dual unionism, as a settled program, will soon be a thing of the past in the United States.

Building Houses Without Private Profit

By G. D. H. COLE

THE Building Guilds are based on the recognition of these three principles: They are producing not for profit, but for use; they are completely democratic and self-governing; and the workers on a Guild job have the utmost measure of security which it is in the position of the Guilds under the capitalist system to afford to them. This, the Guildsmen believe, is why better work is being done, and why the cost of production is brought down while the quality is being improved.

How the Building Guild Works

Let me explain the actual method of working which exists within the Building Guild. In the first place, they are based fully and completely upon the trade union movement. In each locality the Guild Committee consists of trade union representatives from each of the sections into which the industry is divided. Thus, on a typical Guild Committee, there will be two representatives of the wood-workers; two of the painters; two of the bricklayers; two of the builders' laborers; and so on. Special provision is also made for the representation of the technical and administrative, as well as the manual-working grades, and for the appointment to the Committee of representatives from the workers employed on any large contract within the district. The Guild is distinct from the trade unions, and neither interferes with the working of the trade unions in their own sphere, nor is interfered with by them. But the exclusively trade union basis of the Guild organization is the guarantee of its working-class point of view and of its solidarity with the working-class movement.

Not only is the local Guild organization democratic, and based on the trade unions. What is far more important, the work is executed under strictly self-governing conditions. On each contract the workers actually employed have their own job organization, and choose, as a rule, their own foremen and supervisors; the Guild Committee choosing only the general foreman who supervises the job as a whole. Guild discipline is an entirely different thing from discipline under capitalist conditions, and foremen and supervisors are regarded not as officials imposed from above, but as co-workers appointed by the groups of operatives themselves. Each representative of a trade or section of the industry upon the Guild Committee is responsible, in conjunction with the local Guild secretary, for the supply, conditions of employment, and discipline of the workers belonging to his own craft; and, if any question touching trade union rules or regulations arises, the local Management Committee of the trade union is called into consultation, and the matter is decided jointly between it and the local Guild Committee. Generally speaking, the foreman on the Guild jobs acts, not as a disciplinary official, but as an organizer of the work and a natural leader of the work group. His authority is not resented, and indeed, he seldom needs to exercise authority in the ordinary sense. The democratic choice of foremen and supervisors is developing a new form of leadership under which the old problems of the "never-ending audacity" of officials hardly arises. Every man on a Guild job, or at least the great majority of the men, is actively interested in the best possible organization of the work; and the process of getting the work done as well as possible thus becomes a cooperative concern in which everybody pulls his full weight and tries to work in as well as possible with his fellows.

The National Guild

The regional and national organization of the Building Guild is based upon the local organization. The Guild Committees within a regional area, such as the Metropolitan area or the North

Western region of England, are organized into a Regional Council, which consists of the representatives from each of the Guild Committees within the region. The Guild Committee has the power of co-operation for the purpose of securing adequate representation of technical or administrative capacity, or of any particular craft which does not secure representation by the ordinary process of election. The National Board of the Building Guild, in its turn, consists of one representative from each of the Regional Councils, and the Board possesses the same power of co-option as exists in the region.

This is a mere skeleton outline of the organization of the Building Guild movement, and it is not in the main upon this form of organization, necessary as it is to safeguard its democratic character, but upon the spirit behind the movement, and the purpose with which it works, that its success depends. Lest I should be accused of giving too partial a view of this success, I will cite, not my own opinion, but that of a competent observer, Mr. Ernest Selley, who was deputed by the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association of Great Britain to make a special inquiry into the work of the Guilds. Mr. Selley's testimony is the evidence of one who approached the question without previous bias, and formed his opinion by actual observation of the work being done upon the various contracts into which the Guilds entered. This is what he says:

An Impartial Expert's View

"There is a notable absence of the lethargic movements which one is accustomed to see on all kinds of building work. Everybody appears to be working with a will, as though the job had to be carried through with the utmost possible speed.

"On one scheme, where 236 men were employed, I took particular care to inspect places where, in normal conditions, workmen might be found "milking," e. g., behind stacks of bricks, timber stores, shed, etc. In no case did I discover anything of the sort. I watched a group of laborers shovelling earth into carts. It was wonderful how quickly the carts were filled. This intense activity was not due to the intimidation of a vigilant foreman. The men were on their honor. As a workman put it: 'It is a question of honor with the men, they want to do their best; and they have every incentive to do so: it is in their own interest that they should.' Another man remarked: 'You won't find any "swinging" on this job. The work goes on just the same whether the foreman is about or not.' I corroborated this for myself.

"In the joinery shop, all the men were working at top speed. I discovered that the shop foreman was "away queer." A laborer engaged on digging trenches said, 'things are very fair on this job. You don't get "hunched" about.' Another said, 'We don't want no "dogging" on this job. Where's the need? We shouldn't have volunteered if we didn't mean to do our best.' On one scheme I discovered a variation of what I had come to regard as the Guild standard rate of work. I noticed in my wanderings over the site that there appeared to be a 'sagging' in the speed worked by some of the laborers. Among a group employed on excavation work, only a few seemed to be working with a will. The others appeared to find a philosophical joy in contemplation rather than activity. I overheard one of the hard workers exclaim: 'Come on, mates, you're letting us down!' This remark had the desired effect. The general foreman explained that, as there were large numbers of unemployed in the neighborhood, many had volunteered merely for a job, and not because they had been inspired by Guild ideals. Besides, it would take time for their minds and muscles to respond to the new stimuli. His experience was that, after a few weeks, two or three keen guildmen produced wonderful effects on a whole gang.

"Work carried on in such a spirit should result in increased output, and I found expert opinion unanimous on this point. . . . I was careful to interview the people best able to decide, that is, clerks of the works. Some were more guarded in their replies than others, but all were pleased with output. Some went so far as to say that outputs on Guild schemes were 25 per cent above the average for similar kinds of work by other contractors.

"Notwithstanding the increased speed, the Guilds are putting forth, none of the work is scamped. The quality of Guild work is of a very high standard. The Surveyor to the Bentley-with Arksey Urban District Council stated in writing: 'The quality of the work is extra good and far superior to that done by any other contractors in the district.' A high official of the Ministry of Health declared that the work of the guildsmen at the Clayton estate was 'the best in England and Wales.' The Chairman of the Contracts Sub-Committee of the Manchester City Corporation said: 'Work on Guild contracts beats everything.' The brickwork on the Clayton estate is the finest I have ever seen. I heard complaints concerning this scheme; production was excellent, but quality was too good! The Guild, of course, could reduce costs even lower by putting in inferior work. But no Guild craftsman would willingly consent to scamp his work. One of the most hopeful signs of the Guild movement is the revival of the craft spirit. 'We shall do work worthy of the Middle Ages,' exclaimed one of the Manchester operatives. Every guildman I talked to appeared proud of the work the Guild was doing. A London operative said: 'We want the people to point to those houses and say, "Those fine places were built by the Guild."' A woodworker of 35 years' experience said it was a real pleasure to work for the Guild. Life was worth living because his craft was 'honored and not debased.' In the joinery shop the men took pleasure in pointing out the excellence of the work, and how it differed from ordinary jerry building. At Walthamstow, where the men had insisted on doing *all* the joinery work on the site, I examined the cottage dressers. The drawers were made to fit, and were dovetailed not only in the front but at the back. On another scheme a carpenter was at work on the frame of a mansard roof. It is usual to mortice and tenon only the main posts and to 'but in' the intermediaries. On this job all were morticed and tenoned. 'We are crafts-

men,' said another, 'and the first thing with us is our craft. We like doing our work well. There's no pleasure in scamping. Any man who is a craftsman will tell you that.' "

[*Quoted from the Report of Mr. Ernest Selley, "An Inquiry Into the Working of the Building Guilds," published in "Garden, Cities and Town Planning," issue of June,* 1921.]

The Working Class on Trial

In my own observations of the working of the Building Guilds, I have formed the opinion that one of the most powerful influences which is making Guildsmen do their best for the success of the Guild is their feeling that in the Building Guild the working class is on its trial. The trial, it is true, is not a fair one; for there are many obstacles in the way of success, and the Guild is constantly hampered by the opposition of the public authorities, the master builders, and the suppliers of building materials. But the Guild workers are well aware that failure, even in face of these adverse conditions, will be widely interpreted as proving the incapacity of the working class to control industry, and the Utopian character of demands for industrial self-government.

Nothing for Private Profit

Not a ha' penny of private profit can be made on a Guild contract. The remuneration of the individual guildsman does not depend in the very smallest degree on the character or amount of the work which he does. He has, in in the capitalist sense, no "incentive" to do good work; and, if the capitalists were right, he ought to spend his time "slacking" on the job, and to do his work as badly as possible. Yet it is notorious that, where the capitalist incentives to labor—the fear of dismissal, and the prospect of gain from greater output—are present, far worse work, and far less of it, is being done than on the Guild jobs. Clearly, then, there is something wrong with the capitalist diagnosis of the industrial problem, and the condition of an efficient industrial order is not the affording of further material incentives of the old kind, but the provision of a new motive for good work. It is in the presence of this new motive, and in the feeling that the potency of its appeal is under trial in the Guild experiment, that the guildsmen rely for the lowering of building costs, and the improvement of building construction.

Of course, the evidence of the success of the Guilds is not yet conclusive, and cannot be conclusive until the experiment has been made on a much larger scale, and over a longer period of time. It is still doubtful whether, in face of the growing capitalist opposition, the Building Guild will be able to clear the ground for an adequate experiment. Prevented from securing for the present further public contracts, and driven back upon tenders for the execution of private work, the Guild encounters fresh difficulties arising out of the necessity for adequate plant and organization. It cannot secure this plant and organization without some capital, and the raising of capital inevitably brings with it dangers to the purely Guild character of the enterprise. At present the Building Guild is endeavoring to meet these dangers by asking the trade unions to supply it, at a fixed rate of interest, with the capital which is required for immediate development; and, at the annual conference, this autumn, of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, a resolution directing the trade unions in the industry to consider favorably the question of providing the sum required was unanimously passed.

In a Guild Society, the raising of adequate capital for industrial enterprise would be a social function; and it would not be left for an industrial Guild to borrow as best it could the sums required for development. But there can be no complete or perfect Guild under capitalist conditions. The most that can be secured at the moment is such an approximation to the conditions of Guild working and Guild organization as the capitalist environment permits. Not even the most devoted admirer of the Building Guild would suggest that it is a National Guild in the full sense, nor that it can hope to apply, save in a very partial way, the principles of Guild organization. The establishment of these principles in any full sense involves the supersession of the capitalist system, and that supersession is not yet. But I do claim for the workers in the building industry that they are, under very difficult conditions, pointing the way to an alternative industrial order, and that the example of their success is one calculated to inspire other groups of workers to seek self-government, and to pave the way for a more complete supersession of capitalism.

(This is Mr. Cole's second article on the Building Guilds.)

Labor and Psychology

By PRINCE HOPKINS

HAS psychology—the science of the mind—any message to give to labor in its struggles for a larger life? Until recently, judging from their indifference to mental science, the vast majority of workers seem to have answered this question in the negative. During the last few years, however, a distinct change in attitude has been noted, and scarcely any subject in the curriculum of workers' universities now secures a more enthusiastic hearing than does psychology.

Organized labor deals with people. Labor is successful in its struggle in proportion as it understands and influences the emotions and intellects of members, friends and opponents; and labor realizes to an increased extent that a thorough knowledge of the laws of psychology helps inestimably toward this understanding.

One of the most interesting and important problems on which psychology can throw light is that of the goal, if any, of human existence, the aim of life. For the labor movement depends for its effectiveness on the individual loyalty and activity of its membership. The ideals of life adopted by this membership largely determine the kind of service which that membership will give to the movement. If the individuals composing the labor movement, for instance, have as their life aim mere self-gratification, their contribution is likely to be far less than if their ideal is to promote the greatest good of the greatest number.

It is true that this problem—the aim of life—is not one on which all philosophers are agreed. Early man read his own motives into nature. He believed that there was an *intention* behind the rising of the river in flood, the movement of the stars and the "visitations" of his tribe by pestilence. If he generalized at all he concluded that the supreme purpose in life must be the pleasure of the spirits or the gods who created and controlled the entire scheme of things.

The Aim of Life

With the Greeks began a line of philosophers who assumed that a rational man would pursue his own pleasure as the chief end of life. About the first really effective critic of this view was the Englishman Butler. Butler pointed out that when we expect that pleasure will result from an act, we presuppose that we already desired the act, e.g. we can only expect to obtain pleasure from eating if we presuppose that we are hungry.

It is absurd to say that desire is created by the expectation of pleasure, when there can be no pleasure until desire has existed.

From Bentham to Spencer

With Bentham began the school of philosophers known as the "hedonists." Bentham returned to the view that the chief aim of life is pleasure.

Following Bentham came J. S. Mill, who regarded disinterested public spirit as the highest motive in life. Mill, in turn, was succeeded by the great scientist Darwin, whose researches showed that moral qualities were chiefly the result of instincts and habits developed in the struggle for survival. Spencer, about the same period, expounded the "utilitarian" theory.

The last two generations have witnessed numerous controversies between those who maintained that the Darwinian doctrine of struggle and survival implied a competition only of individuals against individuals, and those who regarded it as a struggle between groups. Nietzche and his type inclined to the former point of view. Kropotkin, on the other hand, has shown that the struggle is rather between tribes than between individuals, and that tribes made up of self-seeking individuals are actually handicapped when competing against those composed of mutually helpful elements. He has demonstrated also that the vast majority of animals are gregarious, and accordingly need to have, and do have, impulses that sometimes prompt them to sacrifice their own interests absolutely for the welfare of the group.

James, "the father of experimental psychology," points out that our human instincts have nothing to do with self-seeking. John Dewey, too, has riddled the self-seeking idea as the sole explanation of conduct.

Yet psychological research has shown that unless other motives are unusually powerful, pleasure and displeasure are the supreme determinnants of whether any course of action once tried shall be continued or be abandoned.

Our bodies are machines, the oil-cups of which are our various glands. After we have performed an action satisfactorily, certain glands secrete a fluid helpful to the growth of all our body, but

perhaps especially our nerve cells. Apparently, this process of secretion is what we feel as Pleasure. But when we perform an action unsuccessfully, fluids are poured forth which interefere with bodily (and nervous) growth. It is when the "oil-cup" pours out these acids on the metal of our engine, that we get the sensation, Displeasure. So it is that the person who has a happy life usually grows sleek, while the person who suffers becomes "careworn" and even ill. The carefree clubman's skin generally looks better than does the laborer's; and the primitive savage's, than the civilized man's. Inside these men, changes have occurred in their nervous systems similar to those we see in their skins. When a system of nervous connections has resulted in an act that brought those favorable glandular secretions we feel as pleasure, the growth of these connections is aided and it becomes easier for a nervous current to take this path next time. This is the way a habit is formed. Where a system of connections has resulted in an act that brought displeasure, the growth of connections between these nerves cells has been interfered with. Thus certain patterns of life (what we call character) have been etched into the nerve systems of two men by their successes and failures.

"Happiness"

Hence, although pleasure and displeasure work mostly unconsciously as forces determining whether or not we'll repeat a past adventure, yet any examination of our motives generally reveals their influence to have been vast. Even a child will observe the emptiness to him of any achievement which brings with it no joy. That even when moved by other aims, we should come to look on our act as worth repeating, in proportion as it brought pleasure with it, is, then, a consequence of the way we're built. In its broad sense this pleasant tone is best called happiness. Happiness of some kind, then, is indicated by psychology for our aim.

How much we value our own happiness in comparison with that of others will depend upon our particular nature and training. Undoubtedly some individuals are born more selfish than others, just as a cat (a solitary hunter) is more selfish than a (gregarious) dog. Social life as lived among many primitive tribes, wherein the struggle for life is chiefly a concerted one against the blind forces of nature, and in a few modern colonies, develops the trait of helpfulness. But life in modern commercial society, wherein we haggle continually with our fellow humans, develops universal selfishness. Its sinister effect on character is the blackest of all the many evils of our present industrial order.

Notable as the distinguishing factor in what we call good judgment, is the sense of proportion. Now, people who have this sense of proportion have to admit that no pleasure which is momentary merely, nor confined to themselves and a few favorites merely, can be so important as the greatest happiness of the greatest number of living things. To promote such happiness is, therefore, the supreme end of life. Evil we define to be what frustrates that end. Good we define as what promotes that end.

The Few and the Many

How far present-day society is found wanting when weighed in this balance! As a Washington civil servant well expressed it to Graham Wallas, "The low class man who cares only to draw high pay and intrigues for promotion is happy. The man of public spirit or with the craftsman's love of his work is unhappy." A few persons live in luxury, but the millions live on less than our own government reports show to be adequate to maintain them in health. A few young people have the advantage of a college education, but the millions go to work before they are through the grades. A few make wars, and the millions fight them. A few own the press, pulpit, and schools, and can instill their propaganda into old and young, but millions have none to speak for them.

Psychology, in laying down as the aim of life the greatest happiness of the greatest number, defies the present world order to justify its existence, and offers the individual worker and the whole labor movement a compass by which to direct their march.

Labor Opinion

Significant Expressions on Current Issues by the Labor Press

A CHALLENGE

(*Painter and Decorator, November*, 1921)

There are lean times ahead for the flag-waving demagogue. For the lash is across our backs and we are coming back to sanity with a rush. We must have work and trade or we perish, and in order to have either there must be a peaceful reconstruction of society. And the first step to that is disarmament. There are two missionaries in our midst who are preaching to us with irresistible force; they are Unemployment and the Tax Gatherer. The former is preaching to the poor and the latter is preaching to the rich, and they are both preaching the same sermon. The choice for us is between barbarism and civilization. If the white man's economic dominion is to be restored, if civilization is to live, the white races must combine to break the power of the sword in the world forever. This lesson has been learned in Germany in one way—through the humiliation of defeat, the crushing burden of reparation made for stupendous folly and crime. It is being learned in England in another way—through disillusionment, poverty, hunger and threatening revolution. Are the American people prepared to learn it, too? If so, the Washington Conference should be the beginning of a new and happier era.

Are we English-speaking people ripe for this great act of faith and wisdom? There could be no more splendid achievement in statesmanship or one more triumphant in results.

THE TIME TO GET BUSY IS NOW

(*Railway Carmen's Journal, December*, 1921)

The political situation in this country is becoming more serious each day. The last outpost of progressiveness, North Dakota, has just recalled its Governor, Attorney General and Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor. These officials, who made up the industrial commission of the state, had promoted the state bank, grain elevators, flour mills and other enterprises.

Big Business decreed that they must "walk the plank." With the use of unlimited money and our prostituted press, the job has been done. Reaction is now in the saddle in every state of the Union and in every department of the Federal Government. What happened to the coal miners in their strike in 1919 under a Democratic administration has just happened to the Railroad Brotherhoods under the present Republican administration. The whole force of the Federal Government has been thrown on the side of the employers. It was decreed, had the railroad strike not been called off, the leaders would have had the same dose handed to them that the coal miners received.

The United Mine Workers of America in their recent convention in Indianapolis, realizing the necessity of action, not merely "viewed with alarm" the present tendencies of those in control of our governmental affairs, but adopted a resolution favoring the formation of a new political party combining the forces of organized labor and organized farmers, and instructed their officers to do all in their power to perfect such an organization.

The time to get busy is now.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE ACCOMPLISHES LITTLE

(*Boilermakers' and Iron Ship Builders' Journal, December*, 1921)

The hand-picked Harding Unemployment Conference has met and adjourned without accomplishing very much practical results. However, the mouthpieces of big business took advantage of the occasion to present resolutions advocating the repeal of the Adamson law, the abolishment of the Labor Board created under the Cummings-Esch, reduction of wages, lengthening of hours of labor, granting large sums to the railroads, etc., and took advantage of their superior numbers on the Committee on Manufactures to recommend these things to the general conference. However, as those in charge realized that such a course would react upon the heads of those responsible, they did not act upon the recommendations of this committee. President Gompers and a couple of other delegates representing labor presented a minority report which tore the recommendations of the committee to shreds, and vigorously defended the interests of the workers. This report, like that of the majority, was read, but not acted upon.

PROFITEERS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(*International Molders' Journal*, Nov., 1921)

One internal cause of the present depression is the unequal distribution of the wealth created through production since 1896. Middlemen who have contributed nothing of value have added to costs, or prices. The manufacturer, the legitimate middleman and the retailer have demanded prices which placed them among the rapacious profiteers, and many banks belong in the same category.

It is not that there has been any over-production of useful articles, but instead that there has been a great under-consumption—the wage-earner's real wage enabling him to buy less and less of the necessities and comforts of life.

The cry of those who advocate a reduction in wages as a remedy for the present situation is as impractical, unsound and uneconomic as the policy of reparation adopted by the Versailles treaty-makers, which compelled Germany to deliver so many million tons of coal a month to France, an action forcing unemployment upon the French and British coal miners, and destroying the foreign market for coal.

The Year 1921

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

American Labor

AMERICAN labor in 1921," wrote the President of one of the International Unions, "has fought with its back against the wall, warding off blow after blow delivered by combinations of employers. This was the story of the year."

"The chief weapon used by the employers in fighting the unions," declared the Secretary of another international," was the weapon of unemployment. Men, especially those with families, could not bear to look forward to the long winter without employment. They knew that, if they refused to meet the terms dictated by the boss, they would lose their jobs. For tens of thousands of the unemployed were ready to fill any vacancy. Many workers knuckled under. Employers took advantage of this situation by organizing the 'open shop' drive, which we class as the non-union shop drive. Many employers insisted that union men cease all connections with organized labor. Thousands of union men dropped their union membership. The union membership fell off. These men must eventually return, and the employer who thinks that he has solved the union problem by these tactics has the surprise of his life."

These statements fairly well summarize the situation in the labor movement in the year 1921. The year throughout was characterized by unemployment, and well organized anti-union drives directed with as much vigor against the hitherto impregnable typographical unions, miners and railroad brotherhoods as against the weaker organizations. In their efforts to achieve their ends, the employing interests made a systematic use of all available weapons. The injunction, the armed guard, the state militia, the press, and, above all, the power of hunger, were employed in this fight at every opportunity. Nor was the company union, as in the packing industry, neglected. The civil war in West Virginia resulting in an effort to make the large West Virginia coal field 100 per cent non-union, revealed the tactics of capital at its worst.

The drive brought results. It forced down wages, decreased union membership, broke up many a closed shop. If it was aimed to destroy trade unionism, however, it failed. The unions, for the most part, remained intact. In many cases, as in the fight against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the workers came out of the fight with a stronger morale than ever. The employers' offensive gave birth to amalgamation of forces, as in the case of the textile workers. It gave an impetus to the movement for independent political action, to co-operative activity, to the development of workers' education, to the employment of expert researchers, to the use of the injunction in *behalf* of labor, as in the recent strike of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and to a campaign for social ownership and workers' control, as in the case of the miners.

INJUNCTIONS

By Walter Nelles

IT is impossible even to catalogue the important injunctions issued during the year against labor. In commenting on some of the more important cases decided by the United States Supreme Court, Walter Nelles declares: "The year in injunctions came in with the *Duplex* case (Duplex Printing Co. v. Deering, 254 U. S. 443), and went out with the *American Steel* Foundries case and with the Supreme Court decision making unconstitutional the Arizona statute which undertook to prohibit the courts from enjoining picketing.

"The Duplex case, decided by the Supreme Court on January 3, 1921, substantially established that when Congress, at Mr. Gompers' solicitation, gave organized labor the Clayton Act with its high-sounding declaration that 'the labor of a human being is not an article of commerce,' what organized labor actually got was a gilded brick.

"The injunction in the *Duplex* case restrained the International Union of Machinists from injuring the interstate trade of the Duplex Company, a Michigan company, by boycotting its products and customers in New York. Section 20 of the Clayton Act forbids the granting of an injunction restraining peaceful persuasion to strike or to refuse to patronize in a case 'between employer and employees' concerning conditions of employment. The union invoked this section. The court held that this section did not apply to the case in hand, that the secondary boycott was not peaceful and lawful means, and (2) that a case between a union and an employer declining to employ its members was not 'between employer and employees.' 'Congress,' said Justice Pitney, 'had in mind particular industrial controversies, not a general class war.'

"The year which ensued bristled with injunctions applying and extending the principles of the Duplex case and its predecessor, the *Hitchman* case. At the end of the year came a decision which drew some of the teeth of those cases. In *American Steel Foundries* v. *Tri-City Central Trades* Council (decided December 5), the Supreme Court, to be sure, reiterated that Section 20 of the Clayton Act applied only to cases between employers and employees 'respecting the terms and conditions of their own employment, past, present or prospective,' and did not apply to a case between a union and an employer discriminating against its members. They held, however (Chief Justice Taft writing the opinion), that, irrespective of Section 20 of the Clayton Act, and *not* by virtue of it, unions and central labor bodies as well as striking employees themselves have the right, without interference by injunction, to use lawful and peaceful persuasion in aid of a strike.

"The *American Steel Foundries* decision, having thus drawn teeth from the earlier cases, replaced the teeth drawn with tusks. Lawful propaganda and persuasion may not be prevented by injunction. But what persuasion is lawful? 'We are a social people, and the accosting by one of another in an inoffensive way,' with a view to influencing the other's action, is not unlawful. But the posting of three or four groups of pickets about the American Steel Foundries constituted intimidation. The name *picket* indicates 'a militant purpose inconsistent with peaceable persuasion.' Justice Taft concluded that the strikers and their sympathizers should be limited 'to one representative for each point of ingress and egress in the plant or place of business, and that all others be enjoined from congregating or loitering at the plant or in the neighboring streets.'

"Not the least significant fact about the American Steel Foundries case is that the injunction, thus finally corrected and modified in December, 1921, was granted by the lower court in Illinois in May, 1914—seven and one-half years earlier. One is reminded of that majestic impartiality of the law which Anatole France extols—the majestic impartiality which punishes millionaires and beggars with equal severity for sleeping in the park and stealing a loaf of bread."

CO-OPERATION

By H. Rappaport

DEALING with the development of the co-operative idea among the unions during the past year, H. Rappaport, of The Co-operative League of America, declares:

"The labor movement in 1921 drifted steadily toward co-operation. The Illinois miners during November and December supplied their striking fellow workers in Kansas with $200,000 worth of foodstuffs through the Central States Co-operative Wholesale Society at East St. Louis. The dairy workers in Minneapolis and St. Paul assisted in the organization of a co-operative creamery in which the consuming public furnished most of the capital. Last year this creamery did a business of $1,200,000. During the milk strike in Cleveland in November and December the dairy workers followed the example of those in Minneapolis. Workers' colleges in nine of the principal cities conducted courses in co-operation. Despite the business depression, the co-operatives more than held their own.

"The year was a year of federation. Local societies continued to federate into larger groups for the purpose of educational work. District committees were formed in eight or nine states. The Co-operative League of America increased its membership to 350 societies. Co-operative centralization, however, came to grief. All but one co-operative organizing on the chain-store plan went out of business with heavy losses. This led the co-operatives to the development of the independent local society as the basis of growth in this country.

"The year witnessed the bankruptcy of half a dozen large, spurious societies calling themselves co-operative, though, in fact, nothing more than stock selling schemes. Their losses totaled at least $15,000,000."

POLITICAL ACTION

THE year, as stated, witnessed a slight drift toward independent political action of labor as the most effective means of combatting the evils of the injunction, of passing and enforcing labor legislation, and of advancing the country toward social ownership. Perhaps the most significant step toward such action was taken by the United Mine Workers in their fall convention in the resolution favoring the formation of a labor-farmer party distinct from that of the two old parties. The Socialist party broke its policy of isolation by their Detroit resolution of June calling for a conference of various trade union and socialist forces, to consider the formation of a party similar in its composition to the British labor party.

"Labor failed to progress during the year," declared William Kohn, President of the International Upholsterers' Union, in a letter to *Labor Age*, for at least four reasons. It did not co-operate effectively during strikes. It conducted too many jurisdictional disputes within its own ranks. It failed to advance from the craft to the industrial basis. Finally, it neglected to form a labor party which would permit it to function politically as well as industrially. That is why we are attacked so bitterly by the employer, the courts and the city, state and national legislatures. What is the remedy? To educate, to agitate, to organize, and to co-operate on the political as well as on the industrial fields."

An increasing number of trade unionists are taking a similar position. The Farmer-Labor party during the year held its forces together, but made no special headway. The Committee of Forty-eight started a campaign for a National Liberal party, while various communist elements who recently left the Socialist and Communist parties organized a Workers' party, as a legal communist group.

RESEARCH

LABOR during the year utilized the services of technicians to an ever increasing extent. For some years past the railroad brotherhoods and other organizations have employed such statisticians as W. Jett Lauck and Basil M. Manly to help them present their case before employers, arbitrators, the courts and the general public. More recently the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies' Garment Workers have established research departments of their own, while, much to the surprise of outsiders, organizations of the type of the Industrial Workers of the World have formed definite alliances with technical bureaus.

During the past year, the miners, especially in the East, closely co-operated with the Bureau of Industrial Research. The Labor Bureau, Inc., of New York, with its group of economists, accountants and engineers, made, perhaps, the most significant advance of the year, extending their branches to Chicago, Boston and San Francisco, and serving, during strikes and lockouts, a total of 15 international unions, 18 district councils and central bodies and 25 local groups.

Underwood and Underwood. *Made by I. P. E. U., 624*

THE INEVITABLE POLICE

"Guarding" strikebreakers in big New York milk strike

WORKERS' EDUCATION

The year 1921 has been a significant one in the progress of workers' education in the United States. Until the last two or three years in the Rand School of Science served as the one big experiment along this line. The following summary of the year's work, by Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the recently formed Workers' Education Bureau, indicates marked expansion:

"Less than two dozen labor colleges and study classes have come into being in industrial centers, stretching from Passaic, N. J., to San Francisco, Calif. A residence labor colleges 'to educate workers to work in the Workers' Movement' has been established at Brookwood, Katonah, New York. The campus of Bryn Mawr College was opened during July and August for a Summer School of Women Workers in Industry. Like so many others of these enterprises, it marked a new departure.

"It was the first time that such action has been taken by an American college. While this initial venture was in the nature of an experiment, it will be repeated another year and the mistakes which were made will be remedied. At the other end of the picture must be included the development of the Trade Union Educational Committee in Chicago, with distinctly political objects. Two State Federations of Labor in eastern industrial States have added their indorsement to those of local unions and central bodies.

"Perhaps the event of outstanding interest during the past year was the First National Conference on Workers' Education, which was held at the New School for Social Research on April 2 and 3. The delegates to this conference created the Workers' Education Bureau of America as a clearing-house of information and an agency which might stimulate the development of this movement in this country.

"There were but four such workers' educational enterprises in this country four years ago; in April of this year twenty-six were listed. As the year closes, there are no less than forty.

Labor Abroad

EUROPEAN labor employs in the achievement of its ends three distinct institutions—the trades unions, independent political parties and co-operatives. The economic depression, with its accompanying wave of reaction, placed each of those institutions during the year 1921 under a terrific strain. Internal dissensions increased labor's difficulties.

TRADE UNIONISM

THE trade unions of Europe began the year with the largest membership in their existence—some 41,000,000, about two and a half times the membership of 1913. As in America, employers throughout the continent took advantage of the unemployment situation, the depletion of the trade union treasuries and the physical needs of the workers to regain many advantages.

In several countries the movement was weakened by internal conflicts, particularly over international affiliation. In 1920 the Communists decided to form a Red Trade Union International, in order to wrest control of the trade union movement from the International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters in Amsterdam. The latter organization, according to Moscow, was led by "social patriots," who co-operated with bourgeois groups. The Communists called a convention of the Red International for Moscow on July 9 to 18, 1921. This convention decided that any union desiring to join this new International must have severed all connections with Amsterdam, must believe in proletarian dictatorship, must indicate an acceptance of the doctrine of the class war by deed as well as by word, must subordinate its decisions to those of the International Congress, and must work in the closest possible unity with the Communist party.

Prior to and following the conference, the advocates of Moscow worked overtime in urging trade unions to break with Amsterdam. During the summer their chief artillery was directed against the French Confederation of Labor, and it was only by a vote of 1,572 to 1,325 that the Communist groups in the Confederation suffered defeat. The majority resolution opposed affiliation on the ground that it would subordinate the trade unions to the Communist party. The majority declared that "trade unions should fight for immediate reforms, but should also contend ultimately for the abolition of the wage system and the control of the social system by the producers." Later the Confederal Committee of the C. G. T. resolved to exclude from membership in the Confederation the "revolutionary trade union committees." The controversy resulted in a great decrease in the organization's membership. In most of the other large federation and international unions outside of Russia, Amsterdam won out during the year, holding most of its affiliated 23,000,000 workers.

The organized attack of the employers in 1921 had one effect on many of the large unions—it forced them to take steps to amalgamate with other organizations and to develop from the craft to the industrial basis. tendency was particularly seen among the internat .al federations of fur, leather and stone workers, the Belgia clothing workers, the Dutch National Christian unio and the British textile workers and municipal employee On the other hand, a death blow was struck in the spring to the most conspicuous experiment in trade union federation—the Triple Alliance of the British railroad workers, miners and transport workers.

Another significant feature of the year was the militant anti-war attitude of the workers in many of the basic industries. Most prominent of these was the decision of the International Federation of Metal Workers to refuse to take part in the manufacture of war material of any kind, and to assist the railway and transport workers in their refusal to move troops, arms and ammunition in case of war. The resolution also obligated all affiliated unions to help in replacing war industries by peace industries.

The British trade unions during the year developed a closer unity with the Labor party by the establishment of joint research, publicity and legal bureaus. The Italian unions renewed their pact of co-operation with the Socialist party. The German workers remained on guard to resist all encroachments of the monarchists, and entered into an understanding with big business for continuous work in return for recognition and a definite status in the industry. Throughout central Europe labor gave increasing attention to the use of the workers' councils as a method of gaining control over industry.

The workers' educational movement, which sprung up with renewed vigor in many centers, showed a growing interest in the problem of workers' control. Producers' guilds, particularly in the building trades in England and Italy, conducted numerous successful experiments. The year, for the most part, however, was devoid of the spectacular developments witnessed in the years 1917 to 1920. In such countries as Hungary and Jugo-Slavi the labor movement suffered severe persecution. Through out Europe millions of workers gave of their scanty earnings to relieve the famine conditions in Russia . In this relief work, party and trade union controvers. were forgotten.

POLITICAL PARTIES

AS on the economic field, so on the political, the labor movement spent much of its energy during the year in debate over international affiliation. At the end of 1921 the major political parties of the workers in Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Germany were still found in the ranks of the Second International. The majority groups in Austria and Switzerland, the Independent Labor party of Great Britain, the Independent Socialists of Germany, and the French Socialist party were the chief supporters of the Vienna Union. The major Labor parties in Russia, France, Norway, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia, and Communist parties in other countries adhered to the Third.

During the summer a Fourth International was formed by the Communist Labor party of Germany, on the ground that the Third International had betrayed the proletariat, and was acting as a "manager of a bourgeois revolution." It was joined by small groups in England, Holland and other countries.

The Italian Socialist party, at its September Congress, reaffirmed its acceptance of the general principles of the Third International, but refused to exclude from its membership some of the prominent leaders demanded by the Moscow International. This failure, according to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, definitely excluded the party from Moscow's councils.

On October 19 representatives of the Vienna International and the British Labor party met to discuss the possibilities of a single international. The Vienna Union, however, decided that it would be unwise to call a conference at this time, as the basis proposed by the British would leave out of the international for the present the parties affiliated with Moscow and might exclude even the Italians. A further step was taken toward unity of action at the Paris Congress of the French Socialist party, in a resolution urging the formation of an International Committee of Action.

In the national elections in Sweden and Norway the workers' parties made considerable gains. In Sweden the Right Socialists won 93 seats, a gain of 18; the Communists 7, a gain of 5, and the Left Socialists 6, a gain of 1. The Socialist strength was 106, as opposed to 124 for all other parties. Branting, leader of the Right Socialists, was selected Premier. In Norway, in late October, the Communists secured 29 seats, and the Socialists 8. Socialists and Communists last year had a total of but 18 representatives.

The Belgian elections, as stated in the December issue of the "Labor Age," resulted in a slight decrease in the number of members in the lower house, a large increase—on account of the change in property qualifications—in the Senate. The Fascisti attack in Italy and the Communist split resulted in a reduction in Socialist and Communist strength in the Italian Chamber of Deputies of from 156 to 125.

It is impossible in this brief review to deal with the trend of the movement in every country. The outstanding features in Russia during the year were the unprecedented famine and the development of the new economic policy, with its concessions to the peasants and foreign and domestic capitalists. The changed policy naturally led to a growing radical opposition to the Soviet government. The unprecedented famine conditions forced the government to devote most of its energy to relief work.

The German movement was characterized by the increasing strength of the Social Democrats, as compared with the Independents and Communists, the failure of the March insurrection of the Communists, the decision of the Social Democrats to join with other republican forces for the preservation of the republic, the formation by the Communist Labor party of the Fourth International, and the discussion of a merger between the majority Socialists and the Independents.

In Italy a continual guerrilla warfare was fought between the Fascisti and the forces of labor, resulting in the destruction of millions of dollars of co-operative, trade union and Socialist property, and the killing of numerous working class leaders. The pact signed during the summer failed to put an end to this warfare. The Socialist party at its fall convention in Milan decided against a collaboration with a non-Socialist cabinet.

The divisions between the Communists and Socialists in France greatly weakened both groups in their fight against French imperialism. In Great Britain, municipal elections and local parliamentary elections indicated an increasing popularity of the Labor party. At the Brighton Conference the party refused to admit the Communist party to its membership, on the ground that the latter were not willing to agree to abide by the constitution of the B. L. P.

The year ended with the Communists in control of Russia. The Swedish Socialists possessed 46 per cent of the total number of members of the Chamber of Deputies. The German Socialist and Communist groups made up about 42 per cent of the Reichstag. The proportion of Socialists to the total representation in other houses of Parliament was approximately as follows: Austria, 38 per cent; Czecho-Slovakia, 36 per cent; Belgium, 35 per cent; Denmark, 34 per cent; Italy and Bulgaria, 25 per cent; Norway, Holland and Switzerland, 22 per cent; France, 10 per cent; Great Britain, 9 per cent—an average for the above countries, with the exclusion of Russia, of 25 per cent. Of the nearly 1,000 Socialist and Communist representatives in these countries, about one-sixth were members of the Communist party.

CO-OPERATION

IN the realm of consumers' co-operation, the most important event was the Tenth International Congress, held at Basle in late August, the first since the end of the war. Over 30,000,000 consumers in 25 countries were here represented. Of international importance was the resolution urging the cutting of military appropriations, "in order to lead to a general, complete and simultaneous disarmament on land and on sea." The congress launched two big constructive enterprises—an international wholesale co-operative and an international bank.

The movement in Great Britain, according to H. Rappaport, of The Co-operative League, added 377,000 members to its numbers, reaching during the year a total of over 4,500,000. From 1911-21 this membership grew at the rate of 69.75, while the population as a whole increased at a rate of only 4.7 per cent. The Co-operative Wholesale reported a loss during the year of $12,000,000, due largely to the fall in stock value and decreased purchasing power of the workers. During the miners' lockouts the co-operatives furnished hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of foodstuffs on credit.

In Germany co-operation grew more rapidly than in any other country. The membership is now greater than that of the British societies.

A feature of the co-operative movement here was the

extensive development of co-operative building. In Austria during 1921 half the people were fed and clothed through co-operatives. Vienna has now the largest consumers' co-operative in the world. In the neighboring country of Hungary, on the other hand, the movement suffered severe persecution during the year. Its leaders were jailed, and government officials were put in control of its plants.

The year in France, where the movement contains 2,000,000 members, showed a distinct tendency toward the amalgamation of independent societies. Some 1,500 societies in Paris, for instance, recently united into a wholesale federation. This wholesale now owns some 200 railroad cars used in the transportation of its own produce, and conducts a large educational work. In Denmark, "the land of co-operation," the co-operative banks and building societies were particularly active during the year.

The Danish Wholesale Co-operative Society, which supplies all of the Scandinavian countries, ended the year as the largest wholesale in the northern European countries. The last twelve months in Russia witnessed a relaxation of strict governmental regulation over the large co-operative movement, and the movement has now regained control of its own funds. In Finland the co-operators are still divided into the middle class and working class co-operatives. Throughout Europe the movement showed remarkable vitality.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

BOOKS ON CURRENT LABOR MATTERS

1. West Virginia.

Winthrop D. Lane, "Civil War in West Virginia" (B. W. Huebsch).

Arthur E. Suffern, "Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Industry in the United States" (MacMillan).

The report of the United States Senate Committee, investigating labor conditions in West Virginia, will be in print shortly. The chairman of the committee is Hon. W. E. Kenyon.

* * *

TWO general reference books on labor have come off the press within the last few weeks. The first of them is Dr. B. E Lowe's **The International Protection of Labor** (MacMillan, 1921), a scholarly account of the attempts of labor, through congresses and internationals, to unite their forces across the artificial boundaries that governments have imposed, and to enforce legislation in their behalf.

A splendid dictionary of labor phrases, customs, organizations, and principles, is Waldo R. Browne's **"What's What in the Labor Movement,** (B. W. Huebsch, 1921), Controversial questions are treated fairly, and the book is exhaustive and authoritative as a work of reference. At the same time, its attractive paper and print, and the downright interestingness of its many articles on topics on which the best informed person will discover that he is ignorant, make it as readable as a story book.

* * *

FRED HOWE'S **Revolution and Democracy** (B. W. Huebsch) is a good little book to slip into one's pocket and read in odd moments. Small in size, its short chapters are packed with concrete facts to show how capital as well as labor sabotages industry. He shows that this economic disease is the unavoidable last stage in the capitalist form of society.

RUSSIA is still the subject of much interest. Nevertheless, in so confidently putting out another book on that country and its Bolshevik revolution, and making it new and different enough from the other books to whet our jaded appetites, Albert Rhys Williams would seem to have attempted the impossible. Nevertheless, all will agree that he has accomplished his task in **Through the Russian Revolution** (Boni & Liveright, 1921). Distinction has been achieved through the frequent use of pictures, poster-reproductions and colored plates, by the broad human tone that appears between the lines of every page, and by the great vividness which makes us see and feel the Revolution and its actors.

Proletcult (Leonard Parsons, London), i. e., the new, distinctly proletarian culture, is the name by which Eden and Cedar Paul hail the institutions, expounders and customs of the communists inside and outside of Russia. The authors clearly show that the time is near when a religion based not on old wives' tales and suppressed wishes, but on science and good-will, and a civilization not based on exploitation, but on communal service, will sweep the world. Believing communism to be the new and true faith, every means, even hypnotic suggestion to school children, now employed to instill conservatism, the authors think may legitimately be used to instill communism.

* * *

A BOOK which is being made almost the bible of another new cult is Alfred Korzybski's **Manhood of Humanity.** Man is distinguished from lower animal species as sharply as animals are distinguished from plants, or plants from minerals. Minerals, by their inertness, are in "the zero dimension of 'life';" plants, by their growth, are one-dimension, animals, by their ability to travel in space, "bind" a second life-dimension (space) to the first; and Man, by his ability to project himself into past and future time "binds" a third life dimension (time) to the others. Thus Man assumes new dignity as the "Time-binder." Korzybski's representative in this country is Walter N. Polakov and he numbers many followers among engineers.

In the February Issue:

A COMPLETE DIGEST *of* RAILWAY LABOR'S VIEWS on *The Approaching Wage Crisis*

Supplementing the articles in this issue, LABOR AGE will present a summary of what leaders in the railway unions and labor editors have to say about the recurring crises in the railway industry, and of the new difficulties. We will also give their opinion of the WAY OUT.

WHAT IS BEFORE THE COMING MINERS' CONVENTION

February marks the opening of the miners' special convention on the wage question. LABOR AGE will tell of the issues before the convention.

THE INDUSTRIAL COURT MOVEMENT

What is being done over the country to impose the Kansas idea on the workers of the country.

CONSTRUCTIVE METHODS OF AMERICAN LABOR

The beginning of co-operative ventures and other self-help efforts on the part of American workers. But little attention has been paid to these practical steps forward.

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Prof. Wm. D. GUTHRIE says NO

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